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H) The Traditional Jma'ths of the Aith Waryaghar:

In the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, which possesses an extremely complex social structure[114].....the traditional jma'th contains nuclei so scattered that it is not rare to see them within all three qa'idates into which, at the present day (1935) and from an administrative viewpoint, the tribe is divided. Within the [648] Arab and Makhzin, or governmental, framework into which an attempt has been made to fit the organization of the Rifian tribes, this fact presupposes an almost insuperable administrative impossibility, that of making them (i.e. the traditional jma'ths) revive. The [643] mosaic of the traditional jma'ths was one over which the chief himself (e.g. 'Abd al-Krim) stumbled, and which he put aside instead of resolving, merely superimposing his own circumstantial wartime organization over it[115].

Let us look at a few of the pieces in this mosaic.

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1) Aith Mhand u Yihya:--A jma'th (of the clan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari) which is found to be divided into two more jma'ths: one situated in the Plain of Alhucemas, and in the vicinity of the bridge over the Ghis River, and, for this reason, belonging to the Qa'idate of l-Uta (in Rifian, r-Udha, "plain"); and the other, the original, ancestral and founding one, situated south of the Suq r-Had or Sunday Market of Thisar[116], and belonging, administratively, to the Qa'idate of the Upper Ghis.

2) Ixatshumen (mountain pronunciation) or Ikttumen (Plain of Alhucemas pronunciation, and written in Arabic as Ikiltumen):--This traditional jma'th (also of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari clan) is also

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623 minor points of difference, the men let them arbitrate and set fines
867 of a few eggs or loaves of bread, for their own consumption. Having thus learned the routine of sitting in judgment and also some of the oral qanūns, the boys are ready for the serious business ahead.

623 Once a week, when the nearest market meets, the older men of
627 the neighboring villages, corresponding to the "brains" of the Kabyles, meet in a house just off the grounds, or in good weather, under a tree. Over glasses of tea they settle any disputes which may
628 come up in the market or which litigants may bring them. When
619 more serious matters arise, such as the trouble between the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin and the Beni Tadmut, the councilors of a single geographical unit, consisting of several clans, come together. They must be fed, and it is in the interest of the feuding parties to make a speedy settlement, with fines and blood money. Fines go to the councilors, who eat part and divide the rest. Blood money goes to the kin of the wounded or dead. If these councilors cannot settle the problem, the "fifth" is invoked—the whole series of little valleys and watershed cantons which forms the next largest political unit. Some tribes have only one "fifth," but Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel each have five. If the "fifth" cannot settle the dispute, and the bloodshed spreads, then all the fifths join in. If the whole tribe is embroiled, the councilors of another tribe may invade and catch them unawares, to their great loss. The longer the fight remains unsettled the greater the number of participants, each new and larger body trying to capitalize on the confusion of the partisans.

It can be readily seen that few troubles reach intertribal proportions. This device of government in depth works. Feuding keeps the population down, and the fear of interference keeps the feud isolated and within bounds. Chronic troublemakers, and those who break the rules, must go. On the other hand when some outside force threatens more than a small portion of the Rif, the mechanism is at hand for all to unite, forcefully if ephemerally. The elders of one clan perform a compulsion of shame on another, thus forcing them into alliance, called *lif*, as elsewhere. As the danger grows, so
643 does the lif. In this manner 'Abd el-Krīm (who had been educated by
721 the Spaniards) set up a government of the whole Rif, which defeated Spain in two great battles in 1921 and 1924, and but for the use of aircraft and tanks by his enemy, might have held the French army indefinitely at bay. No sultan had ever been able to conquer this classic corner of the Land of Insolence, which is all the more remark-

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able since much of it is not mountain at all, but open rolling country.

The Riffians are tough fighters. They won Spain for Franco, on a promise of freedom given them on the Yellow Plain of Ktama. One of them, ʿAbd el-Krīm's jailer, once told me that he gave the Christian prisoners dirt mixed in their bread; this is nothing to what the Christians have done to them, which, out of deference to the sensitivity of my readers, I shall not print here. Needless to say, the Riffians buried no one alive in anthills, nor have their women hacked any prisoners to shreds. Having never visited the Pathans, I cannot make the same denial for them with as much conviction, but until shown otherwise I shall continue to believe that these tales come out of the same volume of fiction.

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Reading about the Pathans, however, reminds me much of the Riffians, with a few differences. The Riffians live in wetter and more fertile country, with more vegetation, and, although good Muslims, make little display of their religious feelings. They keep the fast and all the main feasts, adding a few of their own. The older men refuse to smoke, and some even refuse tea. They confined Jews to a few coastal settlements, notably Bades and Melilla, while Christians were not admitted at all, before the days of ʿAbd el-Krīm, who let in Gordon Canning, Vincent Sheean, and a few others without demanding previous conversion. One is told that the Pathans are "fanatical," but this again may be a form of general xenophobia channeled through the symbolic mechanism of religion.

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The Pathans also are organized in tribes, divided into subtribes, partitioned into sections, split into clans, which are made up of patrilineal extended families.[9] Each family, clan, section, and subtribe has its head man, who represents his group in the *jirga,* or representative council of the group just above him. Like the Asht Arbaʿin, these councils convene to attempt to settle matters of dispute between their constituent members. Irrigation quarrels and cattle rustling are the chief business of the smaller jirgas, while adultery and murder draw the full tribal council, presided over by its chief officer, the khan. Like the amīn of a Kabyle village, he is often no more than a moderator. In case of murder, the killer flees the tribal territory at

[9] See H. Hörhager, *Die Volkstumsgrundlagen der Indischen nordwest-grenz Provinz* (Heidelberg, 1943). M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and Its Dependencies* (London, 1825). C. Collin Davies, *The Problem of the Northwest Frontier, 1890-1908.*